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tempts along lines later abandoned, are *Point de Lendemain* and *Théroigne de Méricourt*, while *Le Réveil* seems a vigorous fusion of his two main dramatic doctrines, the sanctity of marriage and the fate which is circumstance.

M. Hervieu is still in the forties and he has attained already, in novel and in drama, a sure and honorable position in the history of French literature. Though it is too soon to risk a final judgment, we feel that his plays will live, because they represent, above and beyond their local and temporal atmosphere, general characters and universal problems whose importance is as lasting as the human race itself.

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NOTES ON THE SPANISH DRAMA.

THE CASE OF CALDERON'S *La Vida es Sueño*.
THE CLOAK EPISODE IN LOPE'S *El Honrado Hermano*. WAS TIRSO ONE OF THE AUTHORS OF *El Caballero de Olmedo*?

Life is a dream was first published by the author's brother, Joseph, in the *Primera parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderon de la Barca* . . . 1636; the approbation was signed November 6, 1635. The editor says in the dedicatory preface that he published the collection, not so much because of the "*gusto de verlas impressas, como el pesar de aver visto impressas algunas dellas antes de aora por hallarlas todas erradas, mal corregidas, y muchas que no son suyas en su nombre, y otras que lo son en el ageno* . . ." There is no record of any edition whatsoever of *La vida es sueño* prior to 1636.

Hartzenbusch saw in Lope de Vega's *El Castigo sin Venganza*, licensed 1634, a reference to Calderon's play; the passage is as follows,—quoted from the manuscript noted below:

"Bien dicen que nuestra vida
Es sueño, y que toda es sueño,
Pues que no solo dormidos,
Pero aun estando despiertos,
Cosas imagina un hombre . . ."

But it may be observed: firstly, the autograph copy of *El Castigo sin Venganza* in the Ticknor

Library is dated August 1, 1631; secondly, the expression, *dicen que nuestra vida es sueño*, is much too vague to be a specific reference to a contemporary play which must have been recognized at once as a masterpiece. Had Lope intended an allusion to his rival's comedia, he would have accompanied his remarks with words of ironical congratulation or of blunt reproach. He would not have said "*dicen*," nor enlarged upon the philosophical content of the thought that life is such stuff as dreams are made of, if that thought had just been illustrated so tangibly by Calderon. The concept was, in sooth, a commonplace long before *La vida es sueño* was written. Two centuries earlier the translator of the so-called *Libro de los Gatos* had said: "*Mas si los hombres pensasen en este mundo que cosa es, e como non es otra cosa sinon sueño*." ¹ The same thought may be contained in Hurtado de la Vera's *Comedia intitulada d'el sueño d'el Mundo*, 1572. Parallel expressions are found in the several versions of the Duke of Burgundy anecdote, which in varied form is the basic element of Calderon's main plot. In Luis Vives' version reference is made to the *vita somnium*. Rojas, in his *Viage entretenido*, says, *veis aquí, amigo, lo que es el mundo, todo es un sueño*, and in the same author's play, *El natural desdichado*, in which the Duke of Burgundy anecdote was first dramatized in Spain, occur the lines:

"¿Veis aquí lo que es el mundo?
Todo, amigos, es un sueño."

Finally, to cite only one non-peninsular use of the expression, the Pomeranian, Ludwig Halle, in 1605, published a dramatization of the same episode, entitled: "*Somnium Vitæ Humanæ das ist: Ein Neues Spiel darin aus einer lustigen Geschichte von Philippo Bono . . . Gleich in einem Spiegel gezeigt wird das vnser zeitlichs Leben mit all seiner Herrlichkeit nur ein nichtiger vnd betruglicher Traum sey* . . ." But what is even more to the point, Lope in his *Barlán y Josefá*, dated 1611, when Calderon was eleven years of age, used very similar words:

"Dejó un perpétuo desvelo,
Dejó un sueño de la vida
Dejó una imagen fingida
Idolatrada del suelo . . ."

¹ *Enxemplo xxxviii*.

One may deduce the legitimate conclusions: (1) *dicen que nuestra vida* need not imply a reference to a contemporary comedia; (2) had Calderon's play been written, and had Lope intended an allusion to it, he would not have used such a vague expression as "*dicen*"; (3) in view of the excellence of *La vida es sueño*, of its author's prominence by this time and of Lope's knowledge of all that his rival was producing, we may conclude, it seems, that the play in question had not been written, or, at least, had not appeared in print, or on the stage, by August 1, 1631. The only posterior date² that can be fixed with any degree of certainty is the date of the license of the first part of Calderon's plays, November 6, 1635.

Again, but by a somewhat complicated process, it may be shown that the anterior date of *La vida es sueño* is considerably subsequent to November 4, 1629. In *Primero soy yo* occurs the passage:

"¿Quien pensara que yo hiciera
Pasos de: La vida es sueño?"³

Primero soy yo is mentioned in *Basta callar*⁴; in the latter play allusion is probably made to *El galán Fantasma*. This last link is weak, but Schmidt's conjecture⁵ seems to be correct. *El galán Fantasma* is alluded to in *La dama duende*, which play, in turn, refers to the baptism of Prince Baltasar Carlos, November 4, 1629, and is the only work in the series that can be dated with certainty. Hartzenbusch's arguments, to show that *Basta callar* was written prior to 1635, are, of themselves, not conclusive.⁶

Prof. Lang has noted that a scene in *Life is a dream* has a parallel in Enciso's *El Príncipe Don Carlos*, licensed April, 1633. Dr. Schevill has discussed the suggestion at considerable length, concluding in favor of the priority of Enciso.⁷ His train of reasoning seems logical and his conclusion a just one, but until the dates of the two plays are determined beyond controversy, final

judgment must be deferred.⁸ Granted that Calderon plagiarized in ninety-nine cases, nothing is proved for the hundredth. Even though the scene in Enciso's play harks back to the original history of Don Carlos, the parallel scene in *Life is a dream* is quite natural and dramatically appropriate. There is always a possibility that Enciso may have turned to Calderon's play when dramatizing the similar situation in the life of Prince Carlos.

* * * *

Stiefel has recently studied, with wonted thoroughness, the cloak episode in Lope's *El Honrado Hermano*.⁹ He suggests as a possible source, Timoneda's *El Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*, and adds two shorter versions from Pinedo's *Liber facetiarum*, likewise, of the sixteenth century. Leite de Vasconcellos has since published a modern Portuguese version.¹⁰ The story occurs in another *libro de chistes*, Melchior de Sancta Cruz's *Floresta de apothegmas*, first published in 1574, and frequently afterwards, although the work is now exceedingly rare. Sancta Cruz's version is, in the main, like Timoneda's, but if Lope recurred to a printed text for his form of the episode, it was, if we may judge from the close, to Timoneda's. Sancta Cruz's version is as follows:

"Vn escudero fue a negociar con el Duque de Alua don N. y como no le diessen silla, quitose la capa, y assentose en ella. El Duque le mandò dar silla. Dixo el escudero: vuestra señoria perdone mi mala criança, que como estoy acostumbrado en mi casa de assentarme, desuanecioseme la cabeça. Como vuo negociado, saliose en cuerpo, sin cobijarse la capa. Trayendosela vn page, le dixo, seruios della, que à mi ya me ha seruido de silla, y no la quiero llevar mas acuestas."¹¹

* * * *

⁸ Since writing the above I have secured a copy of the 1774 edition, as, also, Schaeffer's translation of the play (Leipzig, 1887),—not consulted by Dr. Schevill. One needs must agree with Schaeffer's conjecture (p. 7), that one form of the play was written between 1621 and 1629.—Of the plays in Dr. Schevill's bibliographical list (p. 199) I have nos. 5 and 6 (two copies).

⁹ *ZRP*h., 1905, 333.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1906, 332.

¹¹ *Septima parte, capítulo primero*, No. xxvii, ed. Bruselas, 1629. See now, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, II, XLVI, n.

² I have refrained from making use of the *Loa sacramental de los títulos de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, of doubtful date and authorship. If, however, it is by Lope, then, as Prof. Marden suggests to me, we have a posterior date, the death of Lope August 27, 1635, reference being made in the *Loa* (l. 80) to Calderon's play.

³ Ed. Rivad., IV, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 256.

⁵ *Die S. Calderon's*, p. 107.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 671.

⁷ *PMLA.*, 1903, 204 ff.

In his edition of *Ocho comedias desconocidas* (1887), Schaeffer published an anonymous play, *El Caballero de Olmedo*, in which the final words of leave-taking are :

“Carrero, Telles y Salas pide
perdonen V^a M.”

Schaeffer, remembering that the text is lamentably corrupt, and believing that three authors were referred to, changed *pide* to *piden*. He knew of no Telles, and no Carrero, but Salas might be Salas Barbadillo. Stiefel took exception to the emendation, for Spaniards often have three names.¹² At the same time he called attention to a dramatist Carrero, mentioned by Schack and Barrera. In his edition of Lope's play of the same title, Menéndez y Pelayo suggests the emendation *Claramonte pide*. Restori while reviewing the Spanish scholar's study,¹³ passes over the emendation, refers to the play as by *tres ingenios*, and adds : “*Ma non credo che i cappricciosi nomi di Carrero, Telles y Salas dei versi finali sieno di comici: Salas ve ne sono parecchi, ma ignoro vi fossero dei Carrero (nè Porto carrero) e di Tellez ['] trovo solo una Catalina nella compagnia del Balbin al 1° settembre 1629 . . .*”

Two considerations may be offered here ; if they do not solve the problem, they may, at least, be interesting in and for themselves. Critics have all been aware of the manuscript of the play, dated 1606. Through the kindness of Sr. Paz y Melia, it is possible to quote here the final lines :

“Oy Elvira se despidе
de tí, y Morales pide
perdón, a vuestras mercedes.”

It will be noticed that the lines differ from the Schaeffer text, and that Carrero, Telles and Salas are not mentioned at all. Morales may be Alonso de Morales, actor and playwright, but the name is a common one in the annals of the Spanish stage.

Returning to the Schaeffer version, printed probably before the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, there were undoubtedly dramatists by the name of Carrero and Salas, and of course there was a Tellez. Gabriel wrote under the pseudonym Tirso de Molina, but there is

nothing whatsoever to preclude a reference to him by his real name ; Lope, for instance, referred to him as Tellez. That we should have the form Telles need cause no anxiety. The confusion is easily explained. In Barrera (585) will be found Tello, for Tellez (de Meneses). In Claramonte's *Letania moral*, approved 1610, Tirso is referred to as Telles. This note will have served a purpose if it calls attention to the importance of Claramonte's work for the history of a most obscure and intricate period of Spanish literature. Up to the present only the *inquiridon de los ingenios invocados*, and the few *quintillas* cited by Gallardo have been used. In the *inquiridon* Tirso appears as fray Gabriel Tellez. Folio 364, in a poem to Sancte Ramon non nat, patron of childbirth, we read :

La lengua ò Ramon moued . . .

Mas si soys Merced por dos
Ramones, en las acciones
otro Ramon os da Dios
para que de tres Ramones
aya trinidad en vos.

El con inmortal decoro
Os cante, sino despierta
Telles su acento sonoro,
mas dexad que perlas vierta
por sus labios Pico de oro . . .

The Ramon alluded to is Alonso Ramon or Remon. Barrera says : “*El padre Remón debió de entrar en la religión Mercenaria poco antes del año de 1611.*”¹⁴ Now, as the *Letania moral* was approved May 23, 1610, it must be inferred that he had entered the order as early as 1608, or 1609.¹⁵ ‘Pico de oro’ was Fray Hernando de Santiago, identified as follows in *Mercurius Trimegis* . . . Patone 1621, fol. 165 : “*Todo esto es de Frai Hernando de Santiago, llamado por su bien decir Pico de oro.*”

* * * *

The *Caballero de Olmedo* was written in 1605 or 1606, as reference is made (p. 329) to Lope's *La Noche Toledana*, written after April 8, 1605. The only accessible text is unusually corrupt, and this ought to have saved it from the severe criticism which Lope's editor and apologist metes out

¹² *LBGRPh.*, 1889, 309.

¹³ *ZRPh.*, 1905, 358.

¹⁴ *Catálogo*, p. 316.

¹⁵ Remón was a *Mercenario* as early as 1605 ; cf. *Comedias de Tirso de Molino*, ed. Cotarelo y Mori, 1906, p. viii.

to it. The subject is disagreeable in the extreme, reminding one of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedie*. But the exposition of the constancy of Elvira and of the villainy of the English count is powerful. Certain parts would be a credit to even such a master as Tirso. It must be confessed, however, that the wing flags all too often. One might be pardoned for insisting upon the archæological interest of the scene at the bull fight. How modern are the cries of the *aguador* and *frutero*!

"¡ Agua y anís, galanes : ¿ quien la bebe ? . . .
 ¡ A ocho ciruela regañona !
 ¡ Avellanas tostadas, caballeros !
 ¡ Oh qué rico turrón ! Es de Alicante,
 y lo doy á cincuenta y dos la libra . . ."

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THE DATE OF COLERIDGE'S

MELANCHOLY.¹

Coleridge's "Melancholy: a Fragment," was printed in *Sibylline Leaves*, 1817, with the statement that it was "First published in the *Morning Chronicle*, in the year 1794." Campbell in the *Globe* edition gives that date, but with a question mark, adding that he "searched the *M. Ch.* of 1794 for the verses, but without success."

Two years after the *Globe* edition was published appeared Mr. E. H. Coleridge's two-volume collection of his grandfather's *Letters*, including many that had not before been printed. Among these is one from Coleridge to Wm. Sotheby, dated Aug. 26, 1802, which seems to confirm the early date of the verses, though another paper is named as the place of first publication. Coleridge is acknowledging the receipt of a volume of Bowles's poetry that Sotheby had sent him :

" . . . I well remember that, after reading your 'Welsh Tour,' Southey observed to me that you, I, and himself had all done ourselves harm

¹ This note was written and sent to the Editors of *M.L.N.* before I knew that Mr. Coleridge had found the lines in the *Morning Post*. I have attempted to recast it in the proof,—not, I feel, very successfully.

by suffering an admiration of Bowles to bubble up too often on the surface of our poems. In perusing the second volume of Bowles, which I owe to your kindness, I met a line of my own which gave me great pleasure, from the thought what a pride and joy I should have had at the time of writing it, if I had supposed it possible that Bowles would have adopted it. The line is,—

Had melancholy mused herself to sleep.

I wrote the lines at nineteen, and published them many years ago in the 'Morning Post' as a fragment, and as they are but twelve lines, I will transcribe them :

Upon a mouldering abbey's broadest wall,
 Where ruining ivies prop the ruins steep—
 Her folded arms wrapping her tatter'd pall
 Had Melancholy mused herself to sleep.
 The fern was press'd beneath her hair,
 The dark green Adder's Tongue was there ;
 And still as came the flagging sea gales weak,
 Her long lank leaf bow'd fluttering o'er her cheek.
 Her pallid cheek was flush'd ; her eager look
 Beam'd eloquent in slumber ! Inly wrought,
 Imperfect sounds her moving lips forsook,
 And her bent forehead work'd with troubled thought.

"I met these lines yesterday by accident, and ill as they are written there seemed to me a force and distinctness of image in them that were buds of promise in a schoolboy performance."

The expression "I met these lines yesterday by accident" and the indefiniteness of the date of publication ("many years ago") suggest that he had the fragment before him in the shape of an undated clipping from the *Morning Post* while he wrote. Guided perhaps by this suggestion, the editor of the *Letters* has since found the earliest known print of *Melancholy*—in the *Morning Post* for December 12, 1797.² The five years between 1797 and 1802 may well have seemed many to Coleridge. Bearing in mind the lapse of time, the established tendency of romantic poets in general

² E. H. Coleridge, "S. T. Coleridge as a Lake Poet," *Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature*, xxiv, 110. It had escaped the notice of Campbell, who had "not detected any of Coleridge's contributions to the *Morning Post* before the beginning of 1798" ; and Dr. Haney in his Coleridge bibliography (1903) seems to have followed Campbell, listing *Fire, Famine and Slaughter*, Jan. 8, 1798, as Coleridge's first contribution to the *Post*.